

used to sit on. In the plaza it is common to sit or lie on the bare ground, though some regularly bring along a mat to rest on, others making a flat club into a little bench. But beams as seats placed at the periphery of the plaza I saw only among the Kre'pu'mkataye.

The platform bed is universal among the Ramkô'kamekra, Apá'nyekra, and Krahô', but Snethlage misunderstands Silva e Souza when citing him to support its use among the Southern Kayapó. That author merely reports "arranchamentos com 400 camas," which last word may designate a sleeping facility on the ground as well as on furniture. Snethlage also misquotes me on the subject of hammocks; these are not in vogue among the Krikati, who sleep on mats on the ground and are covered with mats, which partly holds also for the Pukóbye.¹³² He rightly ascribes hammocks to the Kre'pu'mkataye—the only Timbira among whom a number of persons regularly sleep in hammocks. The Krikati, Pukóbye, and Ramkô'kamekra do own a fair number of these contrivances, but exclusively for resting in the daytime, and nearly all of them have been obtained in barter from the near-by Guajajara. The hammocks found among the Krikati and Pukóbye all come from the quite isolated hamlet of Uruçú; the Kre'pu'mkataye obtain theirs from the Guajajara farther up the Grajahú; and the Ramkô'kamekra from the settlements of the same tribe beyond the Rio Corda. The last-mentioned Timbira have also obtained some Neobrazilian specimens on their begging trips to state capitals.

In any case, to date the Timbira have never manufactured a single cotton hammock. On the other hand, in their temporary camps they will take but a few minutes to complete a hammock quite serviceable for a few days by interlacing the tips of two burity leaflets. The ropes for suspending this type of hammock are made of the stalks of the two leaves when worn down to a thin strip. Occasionally such hammocks may be seen even in permanent villages, especially among the Krahô'. Among the Apá'nyekra, Snethlage saw a hammock for little children that had been knotted together from a few bast threads. I noted a rather large sample of this type among the Ramkô'kamekra; it consisted of ropes made of the black bark of a *philodendron* species. It was not in the Guajajara twined technique, but rather conformed to that of Timbira scoop nets (pl. 17, c), though wider-meshed. The Šerénte rather frequently fasten such hammocks to the branches of trees for hunting from ambush; accordingly, there is no reason to think of diffusion from the Tupi.

Storage.—In two or three Ponto houses there was in one corner an attic with a flooring of poles. It was partitioned off with thatched walls, provided with a small door, and made accessible by a notched tree. This chamber serves for the storage of provisions and of valuables; it is due to Neobrazilian influence. Not a single Timbira tribe has scaffolds for the stowing away of utensils. Except for the attics just described, such objects are thrust into the roof or wall thatch; stuck under the beds; or, in the case of small articles, most commonly suspended in bags and baskets, such as are always available in considerable numbers. For this purpose the house posts are frequently allowed to keep a projecting limb, and the same end is served by the cords that sometimes hang down from the rafters. However, there are no specially designed hooks or crossbeams for suspension.

Fire.—The fireplaces, fixed appurtenances of the dwellings, fall into three categories. First, there is the small fire kept going in the night at the foot of the beds; in the daytime it is not used except possibly for some technological task. Secondly, there is the fireplace with its hearthstones for boiling food; this often coincides with the foregoing,¹³³ but otherwise is likely to be placed in the unenclosed space

¹³² Snethlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*, 155, 116.

¹³³ This seems contradictory to the preceding statement. *Editor.*

252
354
177
354
372
177

in front of the house. This is an innovation, for originally boiling was unknown to any of the Timbira, who probably cooked on the spit or in the ashes at the fires by their camp sites. Borrowed from the Neobrazilians along with the cooking pots, these fireplaces are always under the roof. Finally, there is the earth oven (*kiyaëq*), invariably, whether in the village or in an encampment, several meters behind the dwelling and toward the open steppe except for certain special ceremonies, when it must be constructed in front of the houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. When not in use, the oven appears as an ugly hodge-podge of rocks, dug-up earth, charred logs, leaves, and old mata. It is common to all Timbira tribes.

The fireplaces of the age classes in the plaza do not serve for the preparation of food.

If a fire should go out nowadays and there is no neighbor from whom one could borrow a brand, the Indians strike fire with the Neobrazilian strike-a-light consisting of the tip of a cow horn, steel, and flint, with charred cotton for tinder. However, everybody is still familiar with the old drill (*ra'ra*) composed of two urncú staves. The drill itself is about $\frac{1}{2}$ -m. long, somewhat less than a finger's breadth, and terminates in a blunt point. The hearth is about of the same length and somewhat thicker. The pit of the hearth has a lateral groove, which, however, is sometimes lacking. (Fig. 2.) The driller sits down and presses the hearth against the ground with his feet (pl. 5, c). On trips to the plantations or to catch fish in the brook at night it is customary to take along firebrands.

372
285
462
313
773
343
437
177

For blowing the fire into a flame the Indians use a fire fan (*kapë'rëq*), that is, a quadrangular or hexagonal little mat of babassu, anajá, or bacaba palm grass (pl. 12, a). Occasionally it may also serve as a seat, for shoveling away offal, or for covering a pot.

It is the women's duty to fetch firewood, and usually one will invite another to join her. But should there be a large, dry log that is too heavy, a man will often do the carrying.

The origin of fire is explained in a myth which I have recorded with only minor variations among the *Ramkô'kamekra*, *Krëyé* of Bacabal, *Apinayé*, and *Serënte*.¹⁰⁰

Special structures.—Apart from ceremonial huts, which are always removed after the festive season, I observed the following structures in Ponto. Somewhat behind and on one side of the house inhabited by the widowed chief *Kukrãtã'* and his kinswomen there stood under a roof (*fornyûkwa*; from Portuguese *forno*, roasting pan) a huge copper roasting pan for the preparation of manioc flour; it rested on four wooden legs driven into the ground. The chief had received it as a gift from an Indian friend some twenty-five years ago. It was used by all the villagers, who in return gave the chief some of the flour they prepared. In Pedra

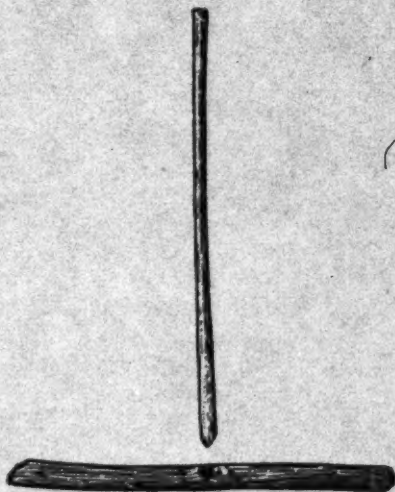


Fig. 2. Fire drill. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

¹⁰⁰ Nimuendajá, *The Apinayé*, 154 et seq., 1939.

Nimuendajá: The Eastern Timbira

59

T
248
174

Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all North-western and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro¹ their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajara parallels (pl. 18, a); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

T
G
243
252

Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Serénte, all of them Gê tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

T
249
276

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were acquainted with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Ramkô'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tanyary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kañim; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãq' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

T
245

Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

T
241
361
166

The true plantations (pl. 5, a) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Ramkô'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Boia. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

562
412
423
177

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

423
596
511

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

¹ Memória, § 12.

Nisumendajá: The Eastern Timbira

73

222
175
137

Juçara (<i>Euterpe</i> sp.)	Piquy (<i>Caryocar</i> sp.)
Bacaba (<i>Ocotea</i> sp.)	Mocajuba (<i>Aceracia</i> sp.)
Sapocai (<i>Leocathis</i> sp.)	Mangaba (<i>Hancornia</i> sp.)
Curiti (?)	Cajá (<i>Anacardium</i> sp.)
Guahiroba	Aragá (<i>Psidium</i> sp.)
Bacury (<i>Platanus</i> sp.)	Côco = babassu (<i>Orbignia</i> sp.)
Paga	

Strangely enough, he omits the palm that is one of the most, if not the most, important of species for the Timbira, namely, the buriti (*Mauritia flexuosa*).

Snethlage thus supplements the list:—

Plumava (<i>Attalea</i> sp.)	Paty (<i>Astrocaryum</i> sp.)
Catulé (<i>Coccoloba</i>)	Muricy (<i>Brytonia</i> sp.)
	(Various <i>Astrocaryas</i>)

262
137

Of all the species named only four are really important in supplying a sufficiency of food during part of the year, viz., the four palms of the *galeria* woods—juçara, bacaba, babassu, and buriti.

272
252

From the fleshy layer of the seeds of the juçara, bacaba, and buriti fruits the Indians prepare more or less viscid beverages, which are very nutritious by reason of their fatty content. They are strained through little round strainers, plaited from narumã strips, whose ends are twisted together into a peripheral pad (pl. 20, c). The babassu yields for food not only its strongly oleaginous seeds, but also the indwelling larvae of *Bruchus nucleorum*,²² which we have noted as used for hair pomade. The seeds are pounded in a mortar, and the pulp is rinsed with water, whence there evolves a fatty, white juice, which is poured through the above-mentioned strainer.

721

Anciently tribes waged war over stands of babassu, as in the fighting between the Krahô' and the Pôrekamekra noted by Pohl.²³ It was obviously this palm whose ownership was at stake; for it is especially common on the left bank of the Tocantins.

262
222

Ribeiro mentions the mocajuba trunk as a source of food and drink, a use I have never myself noted. On the other hand, the palmitos, leaf shoots, of the juçara and especially of the anajá (*Maximiliana regia*) are occasionally consumed even today.

252

In times of dearth the Rangk'amekra prepare a kind of flour from the root of the patioba (*Caladium* sp.; Timbira: mriti), which grows in the water of creeks and swamps.

222

As an article of diet, wild honey is equally insignificant. Snethlage describes the procedure of hacking it out of the trees and pouring it into gourd bottles. I have never seen beehives in Timbira villages.

222
[462]
883

Except for honey, the gathering of wild food is principally a feminine task; even nowadays women and girls are rather addicted to it. Marching through the steppe, they glance all around, almost instinctively scouring the country, and collect whatever comes near them into a gourd bowl, which they generally take along on such trips. Sometimes a large bevy of girls, especially young ones, jointly roam over the steppe for days in quest of fruits. In order not to miss their customary dances every night, they take a preceptor with them, but otherwise decline a male escort and would manhandle any lad who should thrust his company upon them. During one of these marches, in 1933, I observed the following remarkable terminal performance.

881

During the last period of seclusion of the initiation festival held at the time a dozen girls with the preceptor Kaukré and his wife marched about forty kilometers

²² Nordenskiöld, Ind., 160.

²³ Cf. Fröben Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 54.

²⁴ Pohl, 2:137.

X 796 During the entire festival the Clowns sing pepkahá'k songs every evening, in memory of the pepkahá'k festival, at which they also play a great part (p. 221 ff.).

575 The Fish Otters wear forehead bands of cotton string. From these ornaments
527 two arara tail feathers hang down the back by long cords; almost reaching the
292 ground, they form the tš'reyapí', that is, fish-otter tail. These feathers, nowadays very valuable because the arara is virtually extinct, have a long history. In 1934 they formed the age-class leaders' occipital ornament at ketúaye. After the close of this initiation they were made over into an ornament called hákyará, which goes around the forehead and down the back; the council allots it as a distinction to the best precentor in the village. This man danced and sang with it for two years, then he gave it to the Fish Otters for use as a head ornament in tepyarkwá. At the close of this festival the headbands of the tš're fell to the Clowns' share, and by the council's orders the feathers were to be worked over to ornament a ceremonial lance (krowaéwa), to be awarded to Pačét, head of the Clowns, in recognition of his achievements at the tepyarkwá.

575 Close.—When the council feels that these performances have lasted long enough,
527 they set a date for terminating the festival. Game is hunted and vegetable produce
[527] brought from the farms. With these materials fish-shaped meat pies are made in the maternal homes of the Fish membership: the lumps are put into a mold of cipó (*Paullinia pinnata* L.) in fish form and burity bast fins are fastened on.

In the meantime the Clowns have erected a camp in the woods by a brook, where they set up palm-leaf fronds as a "weir" and shape hooked implements of forked branches to represent the necks, heads, and bills of aquatic birds. One Clown enters the village to learn whether the pies are ready. He receives in every house a slice of flesh, which he ties to a pole and carries into his society's camp.

In the evening the Fish sing in the plaza to the shaking of rattles, after which they disperse to their six huts.

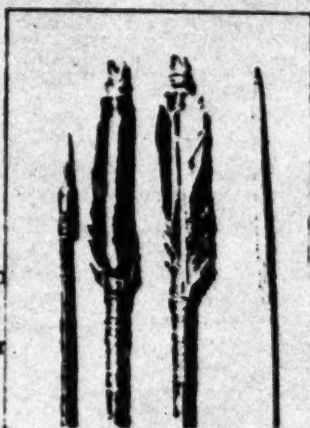
The following morning the Clowns disguise themselves in their camp in every possible way: they paint themselves grotesquely, clip their hair in part or altogether, or cut themselves two or three hair furrows, one above the other. With the long tufts clipped from the heads of youths they artificially lengthen their girl associates' hair. Thus they enter the village in the afternoon, camping and singing by a fireplace in the plaza. Now falcon down is glued on their girls' bodies. The Clowns bring their wooden bird heads and palm fronds to the plaza, where they quickly dig a circle of holes in the ground to plant the fronds, thus completing the weir. A good runner specially appointed by the council assumes the role of the jejú (kutápti). He is the first of all the Fish to enter his maternal home, receive the fish-shaped meat pie, take it under his arm, and run to the plaza, past the Clowns, and into the weir. Soon he steps out of it again and summons the other Fish, who now similarly fetch their pies from their maternal homes. They enter the weir with them, form a line that faces east and sing.

Meanwhile the Clowns pretend to crush the fish-drugging cipó. The Fish extend their pies toward them, the Clown girls enter first and seize one pie, whereupon all the Clowns try to possess themselves of the rest by attempting to spit them on the beaks of their bird heads. But the Fish break through the weir and try to escape with their pies.

575 About ten Piranhas (apá'n; *Serrasalmo* sp.) are gathered in a northwest house,
527 armed with bush-knives, and try to chop up the heron heads with which the Clowns
825 attack and drive them out. At last the two Clown girls are the first to seize two Piranhas and rob them of their pies. Immediately the Clowns rush against the

/49 cont. /

123 The solemn silence
 521 which had prevailed at
 first was soon disrupted by
 [411] lively chatter. The con-
 [237] versation between me and
 → the chief was interrupted.
 Every object that I had with
 me was discussed in detail.
 I was questioned about their
 names and use.



Arrow types, opposed feathering.
 1/2 nat. size.

From time to time a
 modest, or usually im-
 modest wish was
 expressed to possess
 this or that. Then the
 conversation faltered again and I gained time to look around a
 little.

285 My admiration was aroused above all by the extremely
 well-plaited buriti mats and the different kinds of small baskets
 and decorated implements with plaiting around them, especially
 musical instruments
 and club-like staffs.

123 Unfortunately the
 [742] pressure of time and
 [535] an unmistakable mis-
 trust stamped on the
 faces of my hosts did
 not permit more de-
 tailed notes.



Canella Indians in dance adornment.

126 My wish to obtain
 [343] photographs met with
 general understanding
 [252] to be sure, but en-
 [593] countered such ener-
 getic resistance on
 the part of the wife

of the chief, who with a few old women in an adjacent open hut,
 the kitchen, was devoting herself busily to the making of manioc
 flour.